/156 cont./

684 Supposedly women are not killed for adultery.

/157/ Divorce rarely occurs, and then only when the woman
586 has become too old. The man then simply sends her away.

In most cases, however, the woman remains with her hus-
[595] band even in old age, while he provides himself with one or two younger and stronger women.

The children of the divorced or deceased woman stay with their father and are raised by the new wife.

587 Widows are permitted to marry again after a certain time, as is also the case for divorced women.

589 There is no special dress for widows.

The widows live in a special hut with the young girls.

The woman definitely occupies a position fairly equal to
562 that of the man. Also she quite frequently and energetically hen-
264 pecks him. Meals are consumed by the whole family together.

Concerning the division of labor, see page 29.

[184] The Rietfontein Auin always have just one wife. The reason
595 for this is said to be that "little food" is available. The Auin from Gam, on the average, have two, sometimes five wives.

Every wife has her own household.

The first wife seems to occupy a preferential position. It may be, however, that this is only because she is older.

548 As improbable as it may sound after what I have hitherto de-
684 scribed, there are supposed to be prostitutes among the married women, who are willing to oblige for presents. When the husband finds out about it, he chases the woman away. It is not quite clear to me how this fits in with blood vengeance which is practiced in other cases. The Auin declared to me, "If a woman has affairs with many men, the man cannot after all wage 'orlog' with all these men."

Such a situation seems to be judged differently than one when a woman commits adultery in a special case.

842 Means for preventing conception are unknown.

847 Artificial abortion is sometimes supposed to be induced by stepping on the abdomen of the pregnant woman.

Concerning infanticide, see page 5.

843 Sexual intercourse is not suspended until pregnancy has reached an advanced stage.

[12 cont.]

843 262 The pregnant woman may eat no "ongaka" and no bush-buck (okapundja, //airibkhe); she is allowed to eat hares.

844 Birth takes place in the hut. Men may not be present. As soon as the umbilical cord (//náčba) has fallen off, the child's hair is cut and buried. Then the child is carried out of the hut. [553] The father receives it and gives it a name, which is chosen quite arbitrarily.

764 As soon as death occurs, the corpse is unclothed, wrapped in hides or blankets, and is placed in the grave on its left side in an extended position with the head toward the west. Brushwood is placed on the covered grave. People come there to weep. Offerings are not brought.

224 [177] At the beginning of the hunt, certain ceremonies are performed, which I believe have in part been taken over from the Ovambo.

The hunters meet at a certain place in the forest (Khoá !Khuásha). Every hunter brings a twig with omsati leaves; these are thrown together in one place (omsati-//khái-wa), and a circle is drawn around it in the sand. Each hunter steps into the circle and on the leaves and says:

[539] //am ǂhaiba, //am ǂhaiba (?)

[782] The leader answers:

!Khu !Khu /ao /ao /auschá Lord! Lord! We must now go hunting!

When a wild animal has been killed, the lucky marksman first cuts a piece of flesh from it, roasts and eats it, and then divides the meat among his fellow hunters. No offerings are made.

224 422 This procedure is of the greatest interest. In the lower form of hunting practiced by primitive peoples, the individual huntsman is the undisputed owner of the game he has killed. In the case of the more highly organized hunting that these Bushmen practice today, the property right of the individual hunter is still stressed through these ceremonies, although ultimately the hunter receives no more meat than his companions.

222 [184] [462] [657] [233] The gathering of veldkost does not have the great significance here that it does in the east. After all, the women already commonly cultivate a little garden plot, and the youngsters herd a few goats, while the men still practice hunting as their main OCCUPATION.

[29 cont.]

593 men are strongly influenced by their wives. It practically never
[562] happens that a man beats his wife. Monogamy [30] is the rule.
595 I know of one single case of a man having two sisters as wives. It is true that certain marriage laws frequently force the men to marry considerably older girls. It is therefore understandable that in such circumstances the desire for a younger life's companion frequently arises, but the consent of the first wife is absolutely necessary. It is said: "He who has a good wife may have several; he who has a bad one must be content with her alone." The Bush-
842 men do not know any means of preventing pregnancy, and, accordingly, very soon after marriage the young wife will find herself
●843 with child. The husband and his sisters-in-law must see to it that she eats no sour veld fruit, nothing sweet, and no fat meat. No one is allowed to walk behind the pregnant woman's back; no pot is supposed to be put on the fire until the woman has been rubbed with the soot of the pot; she is not supposed to sit where the other
844 people are, but must stay to one side. When the time for delivery approaches, she must step over the legs of her husband, who has rubbed medicine into incisions in his calves. When the woman feels that the birth pangs are beginning, she goes into the bush by herself and looks for veldkost. She is not supposed to sit down while doing so, because that would have harmful effects on the birth. Then she picks grass, prepares a place under a tree, puts her bag of veldkost to one side, and gives birth to the child in a squatting position, grasping a branch with her hands. Then she takes the child, severs the umbilical cord herself, puts it in her veldkost bag, and goes home with it. The cord is always severed with a quartz knife (as among the Dama). The umbilical cord (!nm) is buried. Only women who are unafraid and who have already given birth to one child follow this procedure. A woman who is giving birth for the first time and is afraid does not go into the veld, but stays at home. As soon as the pains begin, she weeps and goes out, sits down, and stands up again. Older women of the kin group accompany her, and in their presence the child is finally born inside the hut. The men may not be present. Children, too, may not look on, and if they creep up out of curiosity, they are soundly thrashed.
[845] If there are difficulties, the abdomen is massaged. Von Zastrow
002

[30 cont.] VON ZASTROW
113 and Vedder (1) report further:

1. Von Zastrow and Vedder, Die Buschmänner, pp. 412-413.

843 754 "It is absolutely against the rules to do anything by word or deed to the pregnant woman that might make her angry. Her evil eye in this period is especially dangerous; her angry word or her curse has an even worse effect. Sores, illness, protracted suffering, and death are the consequences of the evil eye or the curse of a pregnant woman.

844 "It is customary to sever the umbilical cord with an instrument only when the blood no longer pulsates. The umbilical cord is not tied off. The afterbirth must be carefully and secretly buried. The life of the child would be greatly endangered if an animal found it or if a feared sorcerer could appropriate a piece of it."

861 As soon as the girls have their first menstruation (/n) (2),

2. Female genitalia (/n-i).

a celebration takes place, but in this tribe I was unable to learn any of the details. On this occasion, the women dance, clap their hands, and sing, "giriri, giriri, giriri, uhu, giriri uhu," and so forth.

Men may not be present at this celebration. In a Hei//om horde neighboring the !Kung, spirits are appealed to in all directions on the occasion of this celebration, so that the girl, as an adult, will find veldkost everywhere.

The existence of a true initiation for boys is denied (3).

[114] [124] 3. On this point I was either misunderstood or told a falsehood.

There is merely a kind of testing; an older man goes with the candidate or candidates on a hunting expedition. Under the supervision of the older person, the candidate must kill a specimen of large game. The animal is then brought to the sacred fire, at which the

NARON
‡AUIN
NOGAU

[71 cont.]

581 becomes pregnant before marriage," at least so the chief of the horde assured me. Similarly, great importance is attached to off-
[842] spring in marriage. There are no food prohibitions during preg-
843 nancy. When the confinement is near, all the women of the horde
845 gather. In case of difficulties, no help is given except a medicine.

611 The father's eldest brother is the family head. The boys be-
596 long to the father, the girls to the mother, and they also belong to the families concerned. The kinship terms for the closest rela-
601 tives are: father, mba; father's brother and family head, mzu; the latter's wife, mama (the children of father's brothers and father's sisters are called siblings, and marriage between them is forbidden); mother, aje; mother's brother, mko; the latter's wife,
582 tsoo. Unlike the !Kung, marriage is forbidden even with the children of the mother's brothers and mother's sisters; within the individual kin groups strict
595 exogamy prevails. Monogamy is the rule, but, as among the !Kung, a man may take a second wife provided he has the consent of the first.

[301 789 303]

Fig. 25. Girl's Necklace with Magic Sticks and Perfume Box (Nogau).

586 Marriage is indissoluble. The woman's family cares for the widow,
736 who, with her children, goes to her relatives. There is no obliga-
587 tion on the part of the brother-in-law to marry his widowed sister-in-law or to support her.

‡Auin: Men marry when they are about 16 to 18 years old,
582 girls between 13 and 16 years of age. Both statements, of course,
584 are estimates. The suitor goes [72] to the girl's mother. If she is no longer living, the nearest relatives (father, uncle, aunt) take her place. The father is only the second to be asked. The suitor

6:Marshall E-5 (1950-1955) 1957 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

N/ow of the /Kung is something which influences weather, bringing rain if it is 821
'good' *n/ow*, or cold if it is 'bad' *n/ow*. Precisely what *n/ow* consists of was never made explicit. Nothing about it can be seen. One knows of its existence, the /Kung say, by observing its effects upon the weather.

N/ow exists in all human beings, the /Kung believe, and in certain big animals, 821
namely: giraffe, eland, gemsbok, kudu, hartebeest, and wildebeest. For the sake of 825
brevity I shall refer to these animals as the *n/ow* animals. Small animals do not have *n/ow*, according to the /Kung. We wanted to learn why, but the /Kung could only tell us that they were so created. Steenbok have positively no *n/ow* at all. Some informants claimed that duikers had none, others said that duikers' *n/ow* was undeveloped. Informants were also uncertain about springbok. There are very few springbok in the region and informants said they killed them so seldom that they had not observed whether or not they had *n/ow*. Possibly other large animals would be found to have *n/ow* if the question were further pursued.[1] There was no disagreement among /Kung 821
informants about other things; no other things have *n/ow*—not earth itself, nor vegetation nor other objects on earth; not water, clouds, rain, thunder or lightning, nor heavenly bodies. Not even the two Gods themselves have *n/ow* in them, neither [776]
the great one who lives in the eastern sky, nor his namesake (his */gumna*) who lives in the western sky, both of whom bear the names Huwe, Hishi, and ≠Gao/na, our informants told us.

N/ow gets into a human being in the womb. Exactly how this happens informants 821
could not tell us. It was our impression that they were not hiding information, for 843
they seemed willing enough to talk about *n/ow* and said it was not dangerous or 827
harmful in any way to speak freely about it. We think they simply did not know. One informant said, 'The child gets the *n/ow* in the womb and is born with it.' Another said, 'The *n/ow* is created in the womb.' Another said, 'The great Creator gives the [776]
n/ow and taught the people to do the things they do about it. He made all things and made all things to be known.' The *n/ow* acquired in the womb remains in a person all his life.

Some persons get a 'good' rain-bringing *n/ow*, others get a 'bad' cold-bringing *n/ow*. When we wanted to learn how this happened we were told that 'When the mother's uterine fluid flows into the ground, it makes a *n/ow* in the child which brings rain or a *n/ow* which does not bring rain'.

The mother has no voluntary control over this, nor has anyone else; and there is nothing, like medicine or magic, spell or ceremony, which can be used to cause the *n/ow* to be one kind or the other. Furthermore, the child does not inherit a good or bad *n/ow* from his mother or father or any ancestors. The philosophy, lore, or belief about the question of what causes the *n/ow* to be one or the other kind, whatever it may have been in the past, seems not to be known now with clarity or detail.

Two verbs were used in connexion with *n/ow*: to ≠*gani* and to ǁ*ghui*. The /Kung 192
say that the mother has ≠*gani*(ed) the child if it gets a good *n/ow* and has ǁ*ghui*(ed) it if 827

[1] Miss Lucy Lloyd (*A Short Account of Further Bushman Material, Third Report*, London, 1889, p. 19) mentions that a Bushman informant, Dia/-kwain by name, who worked with her and with Dr. Bleek before his death, and who came from the Katkop Mountains, south of the Orange River, told her that 'A baboon, when killed, resembles a man, in "making cloud"'. No more information was given in the report, but the concept of 'making cloud' suggests that possibly the now extinct or almost extinct Cape Bushmen had a belief which may have resembled in some ways the concept of *n/ow*. [171]

6:Marshall E-5 (1950-1955) 1957 FX10 Bushmen FX10
!Kung

it gets a bad *n/ow*. We heard the words used constantly in connexion with *n/ow* and rain and cold, but know of the use of only one of them in another connexion. The /Kung say that a child '*//ghui*(s) its name' if its teeth come late. We do not know precisely how to translate the words and hope that a linguist will some time throw more light on them.

≠Toma, one of our informants, pondering on the question of how the *n/ow* comes to be of one kind or the other in a person, said he thought the child's position in the womb and whether the child had long or short legs might have something to do with it, but he was not sure of this, and knew no more to tell us. A caul or a breech-birth does not make the *n/ow* good or bad, he thought. Other informants thought that severely deformed infants or twins might possibly be more likely than others to get a bad *n/ow*, but they too were uncertain. (Possibly this is because deformed infants and the weaker one of twins are killed at birth by /Kung mothers, so there is little occasion to think about the *n/ow* of such children.)

It is discovered what kind of *n/ow* a child has by observing the weather at the time of its birth or soon after. If it rains the people believe the *n/ow* of the child has brought the rain and are sure the *n/ow* is good. If water should freeze when the child was born or soon after, the child's *n/ow* would be known to be bad. Should the weather continue in its normal seasonal course and no great extreme or notable change occur, the child's *n/ow* will be thought to be probably of the rain-bringing or cold-bringing kind according to the type of weather which prevailed; but if the weather is extreme at the time of the birth there is a feeling of certainty about the kind of *n/ow* the child has acquired, as the /Kung believe the effect of the *n/ow* was clearly observable.

At death as well as at birth the *n/ow* of a human being influences the weather. A /Kung told us that his *n/ow* had brought heavy rain when he was born and that everyone knew he had a rain-bringing *n/ow*. He said his mother, who lived at some distance from where he lived, noticed the weather and, if rain came at an unusual time or was unusually heavy, she feared he had died and that his *n/ow* was causing the rain to come.

N/ow is said to exist in the bodies of human beings (presumably everywhere in them). Informants mentioned it particularly as associated with uterine fluid at the time of birth and with the urine and hair of humans.

Hair is associated with clouds by the /Giwke Bushmen in the Bechuanaland Protectorate, with whom we worked in 1955. They have a myth, told to us by the old headman, Oukwane, which says that God, whose name there is Pisiboro, and who is their one God, tore the black, black hair from his head and threw it into the sky to make the rain clouds.

In *Specimens of Bushman Folklore*,[1] Dr. Bleek and Lucy Lloyd record a belief about death, collected in 1875 in the Katkop dialect from the informant Dia/kwain, which refers to hair and clouds. We quote the statement:

> The hair of our head will resemble clouds, when we die, when we in this manner make clouds. These things are those which resemble clouds; and we think that (they) are clouds. We, who do not know, we are those who think in this manner, that (they) are clouds. We, who know, when we see that they are like this, we know that (they) are a person's clouds; (that they) are the hair of his head. We, who know, we are those who think thus, while we feel that we seeing recognize the clouds, how the clouds do in this manner form themselves.

[1] Bleek, W. H. I., and Lloyd, L. C., *Specimens of Bushman Folklore*, London, 1911, pp. 399–401.

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824
222 The net effect of this effort is that an individual must drink much more than the minimum daily requirement of 72 ounces of water. In fact, men who were living on Fockea roots, were observed to dig out between 15 and 20 of the roots per day. The quantity of water provided by these roots is estimated at 150-300 ounces, part of which went to provide water for the children of the camp.

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312 A description of one Fockea trip, in which the author participated, will serve to illustrate some of the difficulties of living away from standing water.

[123] This trip began on 6 November and ended on 16 November, 1964. The group consisted of 12 Bushmen (plus the author); there were three men, four women, and five children. One of the young women gave birth during her stay so the returning group consisted of 13 Bushmen.

November 6 - This group (minus one of the men who came out the following day) set out from the Dobe waterhole at 10:00

[103] a.m. They spent the day walking to a nut forest named !wi/wama which was situated eleven miles west of Dobe. The original plan was to remain there for five days.

[481] The pace was leisurely to suit the three older children
[855] (ages 12, 8, 6 respectively) who went on foot and the young
[843] woman who was in the terminal month of her pregnancy. On the way we stopped at intervals to eat seven different species of

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date)1930
FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX10

587 "after a certain length of time", and, as among the Naron, there is no
[736] levirate. We are not told whose duty it is to look after the children of a widow, but in the case of a widower his children remain with him, and if he marries again are brought up by his new wife.[1]

[768] The survivor of a marriage among the Namib Bushmen is not allowed to remarry until a full season has elapsed since the death of his or her partner. The belief is that if, for example, a woman marries
[761] a widower immediately after the death of his first wife, she also will soon die. A widow returns to her own people on the death of her husband, taking with her the unweaned children, who must, however, later return to their father's relatives. If she marries again the new husband must look after the children until they are old enough. There is no mention of the levirate, but the existence of the sororate is implied in Trenk's statement that a widower is expected to marry an eligible sister of his dead wife.[2] This is also noted of the Kung by Lebzelter.[3]

Birth and Infancy

581 A marriage is not regarded as fully consummated until the birth
586 of a child. This is clearly indicated in the fact, already mentioned, that among both the Namib Bushmen and the Heikum barrenness is regarded as one of the main grounds for divorce. It is customary
844 among the Naron and the Heikum for a woman to return to her
591 mother's home for her first confinement, if she has already left with her husband to settle among his people; while among the Kung a newly-married couple remain with the wife's parents until after the birth of a child. It is probable therefore that among all the North-Western tribes a woman's first child is born at the home of her parents; about the other Bushman tribes there is no definite statement on this point.

●843 Pregnant women carry on their normal daily occupations until the last moment, collecting veldkos and water, walking as far as the rest do, and so on, although they are apparently treated with some consideration in the way of food. Among the Kung a pregnant woman may not eat sour veldkos, nor anything sweet, nor any fat meat. No one may pass behind her back, nor may a pot be put on the fire before she has smeared herself with the soot clinging to it.[4] There

[1] Kaufmann, op. cit., 137.
[2] Op. cit., 14.
[3] Op. cit., 168.
[4] Lebzelter, "Bei den !Kun-Buschleuten," 14.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date)1930
FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX10

is no information about special pregnancy observances in any of the other tribes. 843

Among the North-Western tribes, the only ones of whom we have adequate information on this point, the labour is sometimes conducted in the camp, but generally, as soon as the first symptoms appear, the woman leaves the huts, and the birth takes place in the open, some distance away.[1] Lebzelter says of the Kung that only women giving birth for the first time are confined in the camp; the others go out into the open veld. Whether this also applies to the other tribes is not clearly indicated. Wherever delivery may take place, a little soft grass is collected, on which the woman rests. Assistance is given by her mother and some other old women. There do not appear to be any special midwives. Men may not be present at delivery. Among the Heikum tufts of grass are uprooted and placed upside down on a tree as a warning to them that labour is in progress. Among the Auen the husband of the woman fastens his bowstring round her body; then he goes away and remains in his hut until the birth has taken place. There does not seem to be any determinate symbolic meaning attaching to this act; the explanation given to Kaufmann was that it facilitated the birth. There is no record from any of the other tribes of a similar act in which the husband is ritually linked up with the birth, except among the Kung, where, according to Lebzelter, the woman as soon as delivery is imminent must step over the legs of her husband, who has previously rubbed "medicine" into cuts made in his calves. 844

A different usage is mentioned incidentally by Seydel in connection with birth-giving among the Namib Bushmen.[2] When labour is far advanced the woman's husband makes a small fire outside the hut in which she is confined, and carefully keeps it going. No pot may be placed on this fire, nor may anything be cooked or roasted over it. It is believed that if this custom is neglected both mother and new-born child will go blind. After the birth another larger fire is kindled alongside the previous one as a sign of rejoicing, irrespective of the sex of the child. [753] [846]

During labour the woman sits on the ground with knees upraised and her back supported, and is roughly massaged by the attendant women. For the act of birth itself, which generally is not prolonged,

[1] The principal descriptions of birth customs are given by Passarge, *Die Buschmänner*, 98–9; Kaufmann, "Die Auin," 158; Seiner, "Bereisung der Omaheke," 292; D. F. Bleek, *The Naron*, 30; Fourie, "Bushmen of S.W. Africa," 94; Lebzelter, loc. cit.

[2] Seydel, op. cit., 504.